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The archeological arguments of those who believe in a vast extension of the Guarani into Argentina rest on the occurrence of burials of adults in urns in the provinces of Salta and Jujuy. Recently I conducted excavations in several pre-Hispanic cemeteries of this region (Candelaria department, Salta prov.), and I was able to satisfy myself that the peoples who left us these great necropolises had nothing in common with the Chiriguano from a cultural and anthropological point of view. The funerary urns I brought to light are entirely different from those of the ancient Guarani, and the funerary furnishings include no piece which could be attributed either closely or distantly to the Guarani.

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Burials of adults in urns is not in any way characteristic of the culture of the Tupi-Guarani Indians, and, I might say, even the opposite. Already in 1905 Outes (1) in a very well-documented monograph had proved that the cemeteries of Rosario de Lerma and San Pedro de Jujuy, which Boman (1) considered as Guarani, in no way constituted proofs of a Guarani migration into northwestern Argentina. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 184-189) and myself (Métraux, 2, pp. 271-276) have resumed study of this question, and our results entirely confirm those of Outes (1). Therefore, as much from the historic as from the ethnographic point of view, boundaries other than the ones I have indicated could not be assigned to the ancient Chiriguano.

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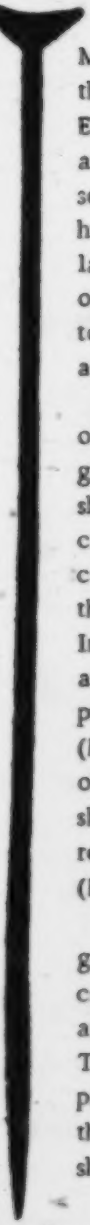

Mauss used to cite to us the following example: during the great war the French soldiers did not much like using English shovels different from their own, and vice versa. The Chiriguano I have seen laboring on military roads in Bolivia handle our shovels exactly like any European laborer; but back home, when it is a question of working a field, they return immediately to the ancestral gestures and are constrained to adapt the form of their instruments to them.

The handle fits into a handgrip carved out of a small block of wood and set in with the greatest care. The latter generally takes the shape of a crescent on which the hand rests comfortably. The handgrips with an elegant curve, which gave an aesthetic character to the ancient spades, have become very rare. In the course of /336/ my trip I was able to acquire only two shovel handles which were provided with them. One comes from Ibopeytí (Fig. 3) and the other was made for me by an old Indian of the Ivu mission. The workmanship of this latter specimen is careless, but it reproduces fairly faithfully the ancient models (Fig. 4).

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The use of the shovel among the Chiriguano probably dates back only three or four centuries. This instrument was unknown in ancient Paraguay where our Indians came from. The borrowing which could be presumed a priori has been confirmed by the discovery in the Quebrada de Humahuaca of wooden shovels similar in every detail to the ones I

Fig. 3. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/11 nat. size.)

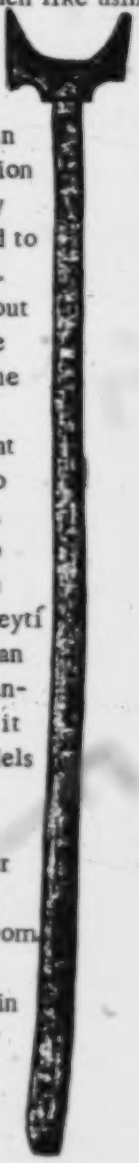

Fig. 4. Shovel handle. Prov.: Ivu. (1/8 nat. size.)

/336 cont./

241 412 172 243 have described here. These finds were made in the ruins of the Alfarcito and of the Pukará de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 4, Fig. 17 and p. 32) and at the Huerta in the same Quebrada de Humahuaca. Numerous wooden shovels have been dug up at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 236-237, pp. 457-458), and Ambrosetti supposes with justification that they were hafted like those of the modern Chiriguano. Debenedetti (1, p. 35) obtained a specimen of this instrument at Kipón in Salta province.

[191] This type of shovel is particularly well represented in the archeological material of the Chilean coast. Numerous specimens have been found in Calama, Chiuchiu, and Pica in Tarapaca province (Boman, 2, Vol. II, pp. 731-732 and Plate LXVIII a; and Uhle, 3, pp. 15-16 and Plate I).

[191] The half-breeds and Indians of the Bolivian altiplano still work the earth today with a spade which in no way differs from that of their ancestors; moreover, it shows great similarity /337/ to the wooden shovel of the ancient Chiriguano (Chervin, p. 216, Fig. 120).

241 412 191 243 Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 30-32), studying the distribution of this cultural element, established that it was peculiar to the Andean zone and the adjoining regions. The Chiriguano shovel nonetheless has a characteristic feature for which we should look in vain on all the specimens found inside the boundaries of the Inca Empire: this is the crescent-shaped handgrip. It corresponds quite precisely to the crutches terminating the oars in use among the tribes of Brazil, Paraguay, and the Guianas and on which the paddler puts his hand flat.

241 412 174 243 The Chiriguano formerly lived in a region rich in rivers and streams, and they probably made use of paddles of this type to go up or down them. Once settled at the foot of the Andes, the resemblance between their former /Fig. 5 appears here/ oars and the shovels they saw in the hands of the Chané or the Chicha must have struck them; and they naturally sought to adapt to the new instruments this detail of structure whose convenience paddling had shown them. Such a hypothesis is not too adventuresome, for do we not have in the Chaco some shovels which have exactly the appearance of oars? (On this subject see the Ashluslay shovel published by Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 30, Fig. 1.)

C /372 cont./
323 modeled. The latter is extremely fine, of very good quality,
[415] and, when fired, forms a compact, hard, and resistant mass. This clay is inherently not very porous; to render it still more impermeable the Chiriguano potters give the vessel a long polishing while it is still unfired but nevertheless very dry. This is applied on the exterior walls of the receptacle and gives them a brilliant and metallic appearance which at first sight would be taken for a glaze. This operation has the effect of making the vessel almost impermeable and thus of avoiding the evaporation which takes place more or less rapidly in most Chiriguano receptacles. The narrowness of the neck at the top of these vessels serves a similar purpose.

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Fig. 38. Ashluslay vessel.
Prov.: Estero Patiño.
(1/3 nat. size.)

The iru can be of any size: there are very large ones like the Chané specimen of Plate XVII, 1 /see p. 127/ and other very small ones (Plate XVIII, 4 /see p. 131/) which little girls use to help their mothers and /Plate XVIII appears here/ /373/ become initiated into housework. Vessels 1 and 3 of Plate XVIII represent rather rare close forms, which derive from the primitive type but which have been perfected. The handles with which these iru are provided allow them to be carried on a trip in place of gourds.

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[172] Prototypes of the Chiriguano iru have been furnished us by Debenedetti's excavations (2, Fig. 119, p. 171) on the Isla de Tilcara.

/374 cont./

415 surmounted by two nipples, remains of stylized ears. These protuberances can be perforated and allow a suspension cord to pass through, which permits hooking the bowl to a beam of the hut (Fig. 41).

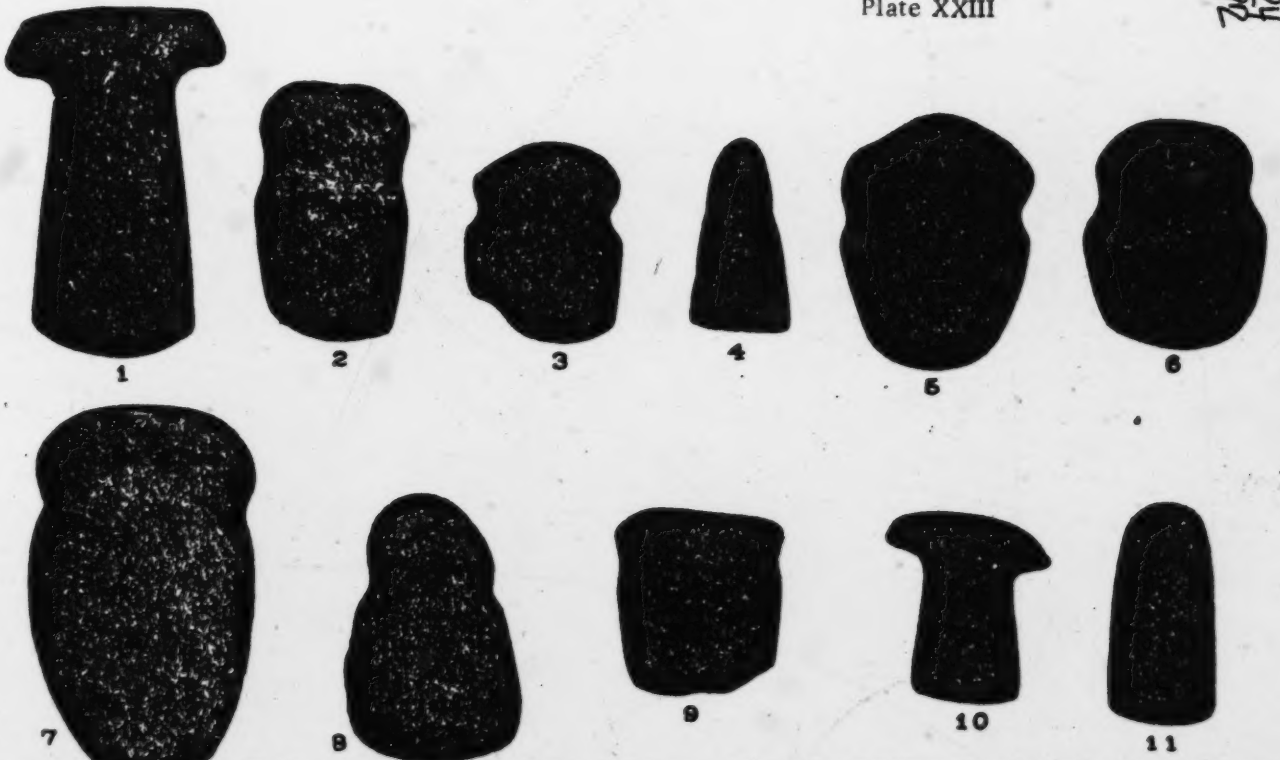
## Spoons

412 191 ●172 Spoons are very common among the Chiriguano. Their form connects them closely to those which have been made known to us by the excavations carried out on the Bolivian altiplano and in northwestern Argentina. It is among the ancient populations of this region that we must seek the origin of this cultural element (on this subject see Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 91-92), of which the Chiriguano have faithfully kept the primitive aspect and even certain peculiarities such as the indentations of the handle which /Plates XIX-XXI appear here/ /375/ are seen on one of our specimens and on one discovered in the Puna de Jujuy (Pucara de Rinconada) by Boman (2, Vol. II, Plate LIX, Fig. 142).

412 239 824 Beside these spoons, whose use spread under the influence of the civilized peoples of the west, the Chiriguano kept the most rudimentary forms of this utensil: the valves of a fresh-water mollusk (anodonta) (in Chiriguano: inta) are often used by them to eat liquid dishes; the shell of the fruit of a bignoniacea (?) opened lengthwise also appears in the north of the Chiriguano territory as the survival of a time when spoons were still unknown to them (Fig. 44).

412 [191] Some small calabashes, ovoid or round, with a jutting peduncle, can, after being cut through the middle, replace wooden spoons to advantage (Fig. 45). It was in this natural form that the spoon spread in tropical America where Andean influence did not make itself felt. The Chiriguano do not disdain using these half-calabashes to dip into the bean pot or the meat broth. Calabashes like the one of *Figure 46 /see p. 139/* take the place of ladles.

1: Métraux--144 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10




Stone axes of the ancient Chiriguano. The first of the eared axes, Nos. 1 and 10, comes from Ibopeyti, the second from Ivu. The axes with a complete groove (Nos. 2, 3, 5-9) were collected in the Caipipendi Valley, with the exception of ax No. 4, which was acquired in Ivu. The simple neolithic ax, No. 11, comes from Caipipendi. (1/3 nat. size ± .)

/379 cont./

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171 Still hafted in this way are the stone axes of the Indians of the upper Xingú (Steinen, 2, p. 197) and the Kaingang /Caingang/ of southern Brazil (Nordenskiöld, 15, Fig. 16, p. 38) and the iron cutting tools of the Matako-Vejos (Nordenskiöld, 15, Fig. 29, p. 44) and the Yamana (?) of Tierra del Fuego (id., 14, Fig. 45, p. 86) which replaced the ancient stone celts.

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412 Plate XXIII /see p. 144/ reproduces a series of stone axes coming from the region of Caipipendí, Ivu, and Ibopeytí. The Caipipendí axes are all provided with a groove. Of the two axes with heels one was found at Ibopeytí and the other at Ivu.

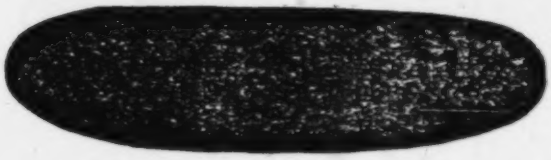

Fig. 52. Stone roller used as a grinder on a flat stone. Archeological piece found at Ivu. (1/4 nat. size.)

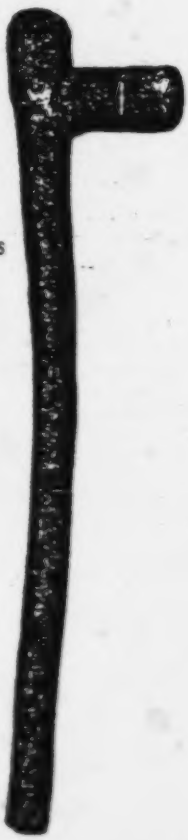

Fig. 51. Iron ax of the type called simple neolithic ax, provided with a handle like the ancient stone axes. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/8 nat. size ±.)

/398 cont./

175 648 [266] [443] acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

175 177 648 [567] [126] Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

439 439 Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

121 192 Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on p. 173]

1: Métraux--172 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XXV

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Anthropomorphic vessel found on the banks of the Pilcomayo near the Chiriguano village of Ibopeyti, attesting to the existence in this region of a civilized population before the Chiriguano. The vessel has a red glaze and the ears of the personage are pierced. (1/2 nat. size.)

399 cont./ It is already evident that the pottery of the Humahuaca region shows identical characteristics from the north of Jujuy to the vicinity of La Quiaca. To me the local variations seem absolutely negligible. Boman (2, Vol. I, p. 77) was already expressing himself in the following manner on the relations between these two regions: "If one wishes to compare the objects dug up in the Humahuaca region with the pre-Hispanic remains of other regions, they would be most like those of the Chichas." At

Fig. 37. Panpipe made of olive-hued stone, found on the upper Pilcomayo near the Chiriguano village of Iboyetí at the same time as the vessel on Plate XXV. (1/2 nat. size.)

AT
Tolomosa in Bolivia, in the department of Tarija, the von Rosen mission (2, Fig. 175, p. 112) found an ornithomorphic dish, an exact replica of the famous puco of this type discovered at La Paya in the Calchaqui Valley.

The Humahuaca-Chicha culture does not form an isolated bloc. It is more or less closely related to those whose remains have been studied in the northwest of Argentina in Diaguite territory, as the Puna de Atacama and de Jujuy, in the Atacama Desert, in the north of Chile and the extreme south of Peru. In the geographic area thus defined, it surely seems as though there was formerly a center of acculturation whose existence was pointed out only a few years ago.

1: Métraux-- 174 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Atacama SG5
Prehistoric Argentina SI3

/400/

A 172 Boman (2, Vol. II, pp. 767-778) is the first to have defined the specific characteristics of the most important of these cultures from the historical point of view, that of the Atacama. By comparing the objects his own excavations or those of his colleagues brought to light in Calama, in Chiuchiu in the Atacama Desert, and in various localities of the Puna de Jujuy, he could demonstrate the homogeneity of these finds. He rightly attributed all these remains to one single people, the Atacama, whose habitat probably embraced, besides the regions I have just enumerated, the Puna de Atacama and part of the Calchaqui Valley as far as La Paya.

C 172 531

C [178] Fig. 68. Fragments of incised pottery found at Caipipendí. Present-day Chiriguano never decorate their pottery with engraved lines. (2/3 nat. size.)

A PA 114 172 However, there is one aspect of the problem to which Boman gave too limited a solution. In seeking to determine the frontiers of the ancient peoples of the north and northwest of Argentina, in my opinion he stressed too much the divergences which the remains of their culture present and not enough the traits they have in common. Still, the points of contact are too numerous and too specific to be attributable simply to a great Peruvian civilization from which these civilizations emanated.

A 172 194 131 167 /402 cont./

The Atacama Indians, whose original territory would have been the vicinity of the Atacama and Arizaro salt marshes and a portion of the coastal zone near Tocopilla, including the lower course of the Loa River, emigrated at an unknown date from the south to the north. They occupied the

C 172 415

Fig. 69. Pot decorated with incised lines and provided with two holes for hanging. This object was unearthed at Caipipendí. (2/3 nat. size.)

A 172 194 131 167 provinces of Chicha and Lipez, the region between the great salt marshes of western Bolivia and the western Cordillera, and spread across the whole province of Carangas and the districts west of the Desaguadero. They would also have taken possession of a large part of the Titicaca and the northern plains. Their culture would have spread to the south of modern Peru as far as the latitude of Ica and as far as Ayacucho in the mountains. Upon this ancient ethnic and cultural stratum influences from the north made themselves felt (Uhle, 3, p. 13).

A [199]

C A 415 171 /406 cont./ following observation: "The dispersion and evolution of a type of pottery whose /407/ origin must be assigned to the peoples near the Isthmus of Panama can be due only to the Arawak, who spread it among the nations living beyond the Andes, in regions as southerly as the Chaco and the territory of Misiones (1).

> 1. Ambrosetti (2, p. 714) as a matter of fact represents Kainguá vessels with a circular foot. I doubt very much that these pots reproduce a primitive type. They are badly fired, badly modeled, asymmetric, and the foot, which is fastened to the vessel when the latter is finished, is easily detached from it.
>
> These vessels are perhaps crude imitations of European pottery.

A 171 In South America the Arawak have been the propagators of Central-American culture among the primitive tribes located east of the Andes."

C A 415 171 C [126] 10. The distribution of vessels with a ribbed belly, of which I acquired a marvelous specimen in the Caipipendí valley (Plate XXVI, 2),[1] is almost the same as that of the "compotes," and we can, as with the latter, rank them with the pottery which shows a Central-American origin /Fig. 72 appears here/ and whose dispersion was the work of the Arawak (Jijon y Caamaño, p. 5, Fig. 1 D).

C 415 171 C [172] 11. The vessel of Plate XXVII, 2[2] is composed of two superimposed domes: one in the shape of a truncated cone, the other rounded. It comes from Ivu and is the only specimen of this form that I encountered in the course of my trip. An identical vessel was dug up on the upper Paraná by Ambrosetti (3, plate between pp. 256-257, Fig. 5). Similar receptacles are still in use by the Yuruná /Yuruna/ Indians of the lower Xingú (Steinen, 1, plate between pp. 266-267). The presence of vessels of this type among the ancient Guarani authorizes us to suppose that our specimen from Ivu represents /408/ the survival of an ancient form of Guarani pottery which the Chiriguano have not abandoned.

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1: [See p. 129--Ameghino]
2: [See p. 183--Ameghino]

/408 cont./

415 191 192 12. The ornithomorphic vessel of Figure 73 seems to have come from the hands of the ancient potters of the Isla de Tilcara who, several centuries ago, used to make analogous pieces, without a doubt servilely imitated by the Chané and the ancestors of the Chiriguano (see Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 139-141, p. 191). Boman (2, Vol. II, p. 786, Fig. 193) also publishes a bird-shaped vessel, perhaps of the pavo del monte (Penelope obscura, Vieill.?), found not far from the present-day village of Humahuaca and which, in addition to its general appearance, has in common with our specimen

415 531

Fig. 73. Ornithomorphic vessel. Chiriguano. Motifs: pink and green. Prov.: Tarairí. (1/3 nat. size.)

415 121 172 from Tarairí designs painted on the sides which represent the wings and tail.

The Chiriguano Indians of the Caipipendí valley and the Ivu mission still like to serve chicha in vessels to which they give the appearance of a bull (Plate XXVIII, 7-9). Llama-shaped vessels have been discovered in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 27, Fig. 14, and Otilia Bregante, Fig. 132, p. 147). Perhaps these are the prototypes of the present-day Chiriguano specimens. Why suppose that these receptacles had solely ritual usage, as Mr. Debenedetti thinks, when one sees the modern Chiriguano make an entirely secular use of them?

415 532 [293] [172] [191] [114]

3/a [See p. 190--A-41457]

In Métraux--169 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Prehistoric Ecuador SD3
Prehistoric Chile SG3

PC Ce 415 191 532

/408 cont./

13. The marvelous vessel of Plate XXVI. 2/A 1 is entirely of Andean inspiration. The idea of giving the shape of a human head to the neck of the yuro was not foreign to the ancient populations of the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Boman, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 190 and Plate LXXXIII, Fig. f; and Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 136, p. 186). Up to the present time this region has not provided any vessel of this type which, by its beauty and the sureness of the modeling, /Plate XXVIII appears here/ /408/ was comparable to our specimen from the Iñyuro. The woman who fashioned it was a worthy artist.

C [415] →

Fig. 74. Vessel painted red. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/4 nat. size.)

PE Ce 415 191 532

In Ecuador, vessels with a globular belly surmounted by a human head are frequent, but few specimens from this region can compete with this Chané masterpiece.

14. The vessels of Figures 74 and 75 and Plate XXVII, 1. 2/A are characterized by a narrowing which separates them into two superimposed globular bodies of more or less similar diameter. In the valley of the Las River a vessel of similar type was found which presents the most surprising identity with the one of Figure 74. Montell (1, Fig. 34 e, p. 28), who publishes it, makes the following remarks about it.

[Text continues on p. 191]

C 415 191 192

Fig. 75. Vessel decorated with red and black motifs. Prov.: Caipipendi. (1/5 nat. size.)

[531]

1: [See p. 179 -- Analyst]
2: [See p. 183 -- Analyst]

/409 cont./

415 191 192 "This particular form is not unique. It is found in the northern cultures of the coast of Peru and its area of dispersion stretches as far as Pachacamac and Ancon, including Lambayeque, Cajamarca, and Trujillo. East of the Andes, this type exists among the Chiriguano, the Ashluslay, and the Lengua. Specimens of it have been dug up by Debenedetti in Tilcara and in the Quebrada de Humahuaca. The find of the Loa River contributes to forming a link of this distribution uniting the /Fig. 75 appears here/ /see p. 189/ eastern zone with that of the Peruvian culture whence this type surely emanates.

Pots of this type show a striking resemblance to the signal trumpets of Guiana. Objects of this kind have been described by many authors and depicted by Gumilla and Roth. If one disregards the mouth and the base, one cannot distinguish these vessels from the terra-cotta trumpets. It is probable that this instrument was discovered independently in Guiana. In any case it is still too early to present theories on the possible connections between the two types, without preliminary research having been done to justify such comparisons."

To the distribution indicated by Montell must be added Molino del Puesto and Caspinchango in Catamarca province (Bruch, 2, Fig. 42, p. 54, and Debenedetti, 5, Fig. 14, p. 27).

415 191 15. Jugs with a globular belly or one in the shape of a truncated cone, with a short and narrow cylindrical neck from which often begins a small handle attaching at the other end /410/ to the belly of the receptacle (Plate LVI, 1, 2, and 4; Plate LVIII, etc.),[2] make up a very common type in all of the Chiriguano region which is in the hands of the missions. Up to the present the neighboring territories have not produced prehistoric vessels which could have served as models for the Chiriguano or the Chané at the time when Andean influence made itself felt on them. The only jug belonging to this type, outside Chiriguano country, is one found in Chile in Valdivia, which Medina (Fig. 184) reproduces in his great work on the antiquities

[2] [See pp. 238 and 240 respectively -- Analyst]

/426 cont./

531 191 Sign of unknown significance. On the Machareti yambui (Plate LII. 2) was painted a crescent-shaped sign having in its concave part two dashes perhaps representing feet. The subject is doubtless a stylized bird, a presumption all the more plausible because another vessel from the same locality and made by the same hand is decorated with animal figures (dogs and toads) (Plate LII. 1).

This mysterious sign is very similar to the one found on a puco from Tolomosa in the Tarija department (Rosen, 2, Fig. 175, p. 112) and on some dishes from La Paya. These designs are also more or less stylized pictures of a bird. (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate X, Fig. 22, and Ambrosetti, 6, Figs. 35-40, pp. 56-61.)

Zoomorphic representations. Animal figures are rare in Chiriguano pottery, but their occurrence only brings out the better the similarities of this art to that of the neighboring Andean regions. The rows of yaku (pavo del monte) on the yambuí from the Aguaray are the counterpart of the nandus on the Diaguite funerary urns and the La Paya birds. The dog on the vessel in the plate appears nearly identical with the bottom of a puco from Molino del Puesto, Catamarca. (Bruch, 2, Fig. 70, p. 72.)

531 191 105 The comparisons we have made could doubtless be extended and many another relationship noted between the modern pottery of the Chiriguano and that of the populations which have today disappeared from the Bolivian altiplano and northwestern Argentina. To continue such an investigation would be superfluous, for there is no one acquainted with the art which formerly flourished in the Andean and Chiriguano regions who would hesitate to establish a relationship between the two and would not have the second derive from the first.

As one might logically expect, these similarities become more numerous and more striking in proportion as one leaves the south and advances toward the north into the Andean zone which runs parallel to the habitat of the Chiriguano and Chané. When eastern Bolivia is methodically explored, models of the vessels which the ancestors of the Chiriguano admired and copied will be found.

[192]

2 A [See p. 231 -- Analyst]

C /416 cont./

531 Lacking these, the study we have pursued brings us the estab-
191 lishment of a very important fact. The existence on the upper
192 Pilcomayo of a pottery /417/ closely related to that of the
105

Fig. 83. Chané vessel. Prov.: Tuyuntí (Aguaray, Salta Chaco). On the belly: series of yahú (nave del monte) in blackish brown on white background. (1/3 nat. size.)

C 531 Quebrada de Humahuaca is an indication which proves in a sure
191 way that the art of the former inhabitants of these regions was
192 identical to that of their neighbors, and perhaps racial brothers,
105 of the Bolivian altiplano.

Apropos of the Chiriguano, I believe it is wrong to speak of
S 531 Andean or Inca culture. The first of these terms is too vague and
531 the second partially false. In this chapter I have tried to demon-
191 strate that Chiriguano pottery exhibits close affinities with that
105 of the civilizations which, by their numerous points of similarity,
seem to have undergone a Chincha or Atacama influence and
which preceded Inca Culture.

/402 cont./

faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already noted /403/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small cane-bark bag (Fig. 139). /Fig. 139 appears here/ as in Salesapa, a substance composed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which gives a violet color.

4. Jaguar fat (yaguapire) cures any "leprosy" (kaxa'i) if one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorn heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 232), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 236, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f).

Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These instruments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Compana (p. 98) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SFS



In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Linardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purísima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Río Grande): Abapo, Mazabi, Cabezas, Piray, Iguiri, Tacuri, Iti, Parapeti, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1798. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapeti River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivo, and San Francisco del Parapeti. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapeti River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 262) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 30,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,167 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

## ARCHEOLOGY

Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapeti River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupaya. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10



typical *Inca* designs. At Caipipendi (pl. 41, *top, right*), near Charagua, he found a *Chiriguano* cemetery consisting of large, corrugated urns, identical to modern *Chiriguano* chicha jars, covered with smaller jars. Near the surface was found a vessel with incised decoration which has no resemblance to any modern *Chiriguano* ware. The same site yielded a small pot with thin incisions and two suspension holes. 172

SOURCES

Short descriptions of the *Chiriguano* appear in the early literature. Garcilaso de la Vega's picture of *Chiriguano* culture is on the whole quite inaccurate, but for a few details. Díaz de Guzmán (1914), Barco Centenera (1836, 1912), and Lizárraga (1909) speak briefly of *Chiriguano* culture, but the earliest firsthand account of it is Father Chomé's letter (1819 b). Tamajuncosa's report (1910) about the state of the missions at the end of the 18th century is also an interesting document. Weddel (1853), who visited the *Chiriguano* in the middle of the last century, published a few notes about their culture. The best sources are the reports and books written by the Franciscan missionaries, Cardús (1886), Corrado (1884), and especially Campana (1902). Nino's (1912) much-quoted book is based in great part on Campana's monograph. 113 114

Nordenskiöld dedicates several chapters of his "Indianerleben" (1912) and of "Forschungen and Abenteuer" (1924 a) to the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*. His data are accurate though somewhat superficial. Great stress is placed on the economic life and the material culture, but social organization and religion receive only cursory attention. However, the collection of *Chané* and *Chiriguano* myths is fairly large and of great interest. Nordenskiöld made a comparative analysis of *Chiriguano* material culture in one of the volumes of his ethnographical series (Nordenskiöld, 1920). More minute details about *Chiriguano* artifacts may be found in Eric von Rosen's (1924) luxurious publication based on a collection he made among these Indians at the beginning of the century.

Several aspects of *Chiriguano* history and material culture were studied in some detail by the writer (Métraux, 1930 b), who also published new *Chiriguano* myths (1931 a) and two sociological essays (Métraux, 1931 b and 1935).

Several monographs deal with *Chiriguano* pottery, which is today one of the best in South America. (Outes, 1909; Nordenskiöld, 1920; Métraux, 1930 b; Paulotti, 1942.) Recently, Max Schmidt (1938) again published and described *Chiriguano* artifacts and techniques.

Knowledge of *Chiriguano* religious and social life is meager and is limited mainly to Campana's monograph (1902) and to observations made by Nordenskiöld (1912) and the present author (1930 b) at a time when aboriginal *Chiriguano* culture was already decadent. The Paraguayan-Bolivian war accelerated its breakdown and little of it now survives.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Omaguaca SI 9



The de luxe vases and dishes, typologically related to vessels in the archeological pottery of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina, were decorated with distinctly Andean patterns (figs. 58, 60). The most common vessel is the yambui, a subglobular vase with ears, in which chicha was served. The motifs are mainly geometrical and most of them

FIGURE 60.—*Chiriguano* pottery. Specimen at *top, right*, a *Humahuaca* archeological specimen included for comparison. (Approximately 1/7 actual size.) (Redrawn from Métraux, 1930 b, fig. 70, pls. 35, 37, 44.)

/68 cont./

126 712 covering an area of about 2,000 meters; it ends in a hill surrounded by the same foundations. It had its lookout and a small plaza and dominated the whole area.

172 712 These fortifications have stone foundations, are made artfully, and are very large; consequently it is not credible that they might have been built by Indians who were even less civilized than the present ones. I believe, rather, that it was the work of the conquistadors, who, following the example of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, built them for protection from the Chiriguano arrow; the extent of these walls and the height of the lookouts do not suggest anything 173 else. The old men add that when they were pursued some 648 of them hid in the mountains out of fear or because they were tired and that these then populated the region (3).

3. This must refer to what Father Cardús says about the time when the Cruceños /people of Santa Cruz/ settled at the place which today is occupied by the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

174 /69/ From what has been expounded it can be deduced that the Chiriguano race is most probably of Paraguayan origin; the inhabitants of that region also say this to those who annually go to work in the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and to the Indians who in past years went to Corumbá from Yvu, Caipipendi, and Parapiti. For example, they told them that they knew of the existence of a place named Yvu and of another called Parapiti, frequented by their grandparents who had formerly visited their relatives, the Chiriguano. In addition there is a tradition that in a not too distant time many families settled thereabouts traveled from time to time to visit their relatives who lived on the banks of the Paraguay River.

StNordenskiöld E-8,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8



Ee 252 415 ×171 [4/2]

that they fanned the flour. They had no proper sieves. As we have seen from the table, the Chaco tribes have no basket-sieves, but use bag-nets instead.

Mandioca-graters do not occur among the Chiriguano and the Chané.

Ee 252 415 273

Of course the Chiriguano and the Chané cook their food in earthern ware. Maize-beer »Chicha», their chief food, is boiled in large vessels. It is only with great difficulty that these can be moved from one place to another[1]). Some of the Chiriguano occasionally allow the maize-beer to ferment in hollow stumps of the bottle-tree.

Ee 252 415

The steam cooking-pot shown here (fig. 16) is of very great interest. It is used by the Chané and Chiriguano in cooking a certain dish of maize, the »huintimimmo».[2])

I have seen this contrivance being used as shown by the illustration, but I have, unfortunately, not tasted the maize-dish that was cooked in it.

Ee 252 415 ×171

In literature dealing with other parts of S. America I have only found this steam cooking pot mentioned by Ullrich[3]) from the Rio Grande do Sul (Munizip Pelotas).

He there found pieces of »Siebtöpfen» and says that they were used on the top of a cooking-pot. Ullrich[3]) tells us that these steam-cooking-pots were used by the

Ee [172] [437]

[1]) When fragments of very large and heavy earthenware vessels are found in archæological excavations one may, as a rule, presume that they originate from a permanently settled tribe. It may be assumed with perfect certainty that these very large vessels were made at the spot where they are found. Small earthen pots may, however, have been bartered from some other tribe. This is naturally of a certain interest if we wish to distinguish between native and imported pottery found in archæological excavations. — Some of the Chiriguano at the Rio Parapiti make only the big common clay vessels themselves and get the small, painted pots by barter from other Chiriguano Indians.

[2]) Cunrado when speaking of different dishes of maize says that »el huintimimmo, especie de torta muy tierna hecha con harina de maiz humedecida y blandamente dispuesta en una tortera agujereada y cocida con baho del agua caliente.» P. 42.

[3]) P. 500.

Schwerdenkölbel E-6/(1900-1909, 1913) 1910
BP10 Chiriguano BP10
Chaco BP3
South American Indians 53



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Bibliographical map 6. Archaeological literature.

/201 cont./

As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

According to their own statements, the Indians find the stone beads in the ground where there are old dwellings and graves. The mestizos in the Tarija valley, who find a great many of these beads in their fields, sell them to the Chiriguano /202/ and Chané at high prices. In former times a necklace of these beads was paid for with a horse.

Fig. 105. Wax dolls. 1/1. Chané. Río Parapití.

The Chané and Chiriguano women wear the hair medium long, parted in the middle of the forehead, and sometimes tied at the nape of the neck or on the head with a band.

The men now all wear European attire. At /Fig. 107 appears here/ work, however, one not infrequently sees them in only a piece of fabric protecting the sexual parts. Among the Chané on the Río Parapití, coats resembling those with which we became familiar among the Choroti and Ashluslay were very common. The older men, as well as the younger ones in the Chiriguano villages on the upper Río Pilcomayo, wear the hair long, wound around the head, and held together, as a rule, with a red or blue band. Toward the front the hair is cut off; thus they have forelocks /203/ and a lock in front of each ear. The

/243 cont./
(Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair remover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of the plateau by the Spanish.

Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more correctly the Gûarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

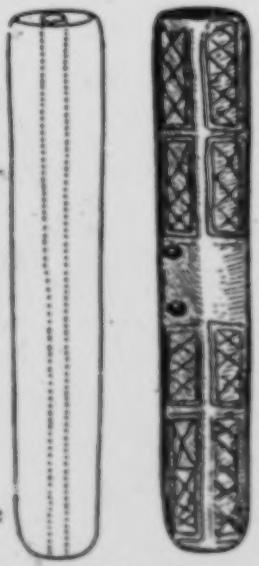

Fig. 120. Serére pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

The material culture of the Chané Indians does not, in general, differ very much from the culture of the Chiriguano. The Chané, on the other hand, who are more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we do not find again among the Chiriguano. If we compare the remaining products of Chané and Chiriguano industry, we do not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10



of 2.1 cm. It is decorated with one large and many small, turquoise-blue beads made of glass or porcelain. 301

Necklaces of stone or glass beads are worn by the women, and even men may occasionally be seen with them. One such necklace (fig. 198), which I bought of a Chiriguano Indian in the San Luis district, consists largely of pierced, cylindrical or laminate, turquois beads of exactly the same kind as I found when excavating the ancient site at Tolomosa in the Tarija valley.[1] The Chiriguano keep all stone beads they happen to pick up on the ground, and also acquire them by barter from other districts. Besides turquoise beads, there are also blue, white, and red glass-beads threaded on this necklace, which to me proved a particularly costly bargain. It is probable that such necklaces as wholly or in part are composed of ancient beads are looked upon as amulets. To this question I shall refer later, in connection with my account of the supposed magical properties of certain Choroti objects. [437]

Fig. 198. Necklace of turquoises and glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 905.

Fig. 199. Tweezer-like breast ornament of silver. Chiriguano. Caipipendi, Bolivia. 1/2. After Erl. Nordenskiöld.

[72] [789]

In the important work entitled »Comparative ethnographical studies», Erland Nordenskiöld describes, from the Chiriguano, an interesting breast ornament called »boivéra» (fig. 199), which I have not myself seen in use. It is of silver, doubled over tweezer-fashion, and worn on a string round the neck. Such tweezers, usually ornamented, are nowadays not put to any practical use, but exclusively worn as ornaments. The leaves of these tweezers are, therefore, sometimes hammered together. On good grounds Nordenskiöld advances his opinion that these ornaments originate from the small tweezers, or pincers, that, already in pre-Spanish times, were used by the Andean Indians for removing hairs of the beard, or 301 174 412 (302)

[1] von Rosen (1), p. 367 and fig. 332: 03—05.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10



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174
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[302]

other inconvenient hair-growth, and which are still in use among the Chiriguano.[1]

I have noted a circumstance, previously unheeded, that, in my opinion, gives considerable weight to Nordenskiöld's theory as to the true Indian origin of the boivéra ornament. All breast ornaments of this kind have in their upper part a tubular horizontal perforation, open at both ends. In the middle of this barrel, and through the top, there is a hole. Through this barrel and upper hole is run the cord by which the ornament is worn round the neck (fig. 199). This rather peculiar arrangement for fixing the cord on which the ornament is hung, is found in the majority of such ancient Indian hanging ornaments, whistles and flutes of stone, as were meant to be worn a string. As an example, the remarkable ancient Indian stone flute, found in the earth in the vicinity of Iruya,[2] has at one end been bored through (fig. 200) in a manner exactly corresponding to the arrangement for the cord in the boivéra. This cord-fixing adaptation does not, to my knowledge, occur in any European object. For this reason it may surely be considered as very probable, not only that the original use of the boivéra as a pair of tweezers is of Indian origin, but also that the idea of carrying the tweezers on a string round the neck is Indian, and consequently has not originated from those more or less »white» jewellers that nowadays manufacture boivéra ornaments, and sell them to the Indians. I have in another book depicted a fragment of a small, pre-Spanish, ornamented bronze tweezers, which, like the boivéra, has a circular perforation at its upper end,[3] indicating that those tweezers, too, were worn on a cord, and consequently also in all likelihood served as a breast ornament.

[534]
[172]

Fig. 200. Pan-pipe of stone. Ground-find from Iruya, Bolivia. 1/2. The dotted line marks the hole for fastening a string in the same way as for the breast ornament, fig. 199.

[439]

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), pp. 82—83, 90 and 92.
[2] von Rosen (38), pp. 147 and 148.
[3] von Rosen (38), fig. 211.